

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Misc.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Messrs. ✓ Doar, Putzel, Murphy & Greene

DATE: April 19, 1963

FROM :  B. Marshall

SUBJECT: Pending matters in southern districts

We have been requested by the Deputy's office to furnish resumes of cases that this Division has pending in the following districts, and any matters whatsoever coming under the jurisdiction of the United States Attorney's office for that particular district:

Alabama northern ✓
 southern ✓
 middle ✓

Florida northern

South
Carolina eastern

Georgia northern
 southern
 middle ✓

This must be sent by me to the Deputy's office by the close of business Tuesday, April 23rd.

Thank you.

[REDACTED]
ATTORNEY AT LAW

Louis Martin
[REDACTED]
NEW YORK, N. Y.

March 13, 1963

Burke Marshall, Esq.
Assistant Attorney General
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have been contacted by the [REDACTED] family of Robbins, Illinois. It is my understanding that four generations of this family have requested repatriation to the Republic of Ghana.

At the request of the Ramsey family I visited them in Robbins, Illinois. I spent a full day with the family. I talked to the adults and observed the children. I can assure you that these Negro citizens are determined to leave the United States. If you were to visit Robbins and note how hopelessly trapped they feel you would understand why. This is an average Negro family in this country. They are decent, hard working people. They own their homes and in fact Mr. Ramsey built his home. They are not Muslims or Nationalist or integrationist. They are plain people who see no hope for Negroes like themselves in America. None of the adults have been in trouble. They feel that a brighter day for the children can be found in another country. This feeling was openly expressed to me by adult parents under thirty-five years of age. It is a sad commentary as to the progress towards equality in this country. They are not interested in what Roy Wilkins or Martin King or Malcolm X say. They know what they must live every day. The Ramsey's don't intend to be the fools of anybody friendly or unfriendly to this country. They just want out. There is the same spirit which caused early Americans to leave the comfort of homes in the east and set out for the unknown west.

They can sustain themselves once they arrive in Ghana. By disposing of property they have in Robbins, Illinois, they can provide food and shelter for themselves. They need help in their transportation. It appears to me that the United States Government is making a big mistake in creating a situation which would make the Ramsey case a cause celebre. Sooner or later the public is going to know. The United States spends hundreds of thousands of dollars in wasteful trips by alleged experts to all parts of the world. What would be a dollar better spent than the transit of an average Negro family like the Ramseys to a country like Ghana and let them decide for themselves if their lot would be better in another country.

March 13, 1963

Burke Marshall, Esq.

This family, as I said before, is determined. There are means and ways for the government to give them a firsthand experience in order for the individual to determine if the grass is greener on the other side of the mountain. I hope that for once the United States will use good sense in a most delicate issue which could very well affect 20,000,000 Negroes in America.

Very truly yours,

[REDACTED]

CC:

Mr. L. White
Presidential Assistant
White House
Washington, D. C.

March 13, 1963

Hon. Alex Quaison Sackey
Ambassador to United Nations
Republic of Ghana
United Nations Building
United Nations Plaza
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have been contacted by the [redacted] family of Robbins, Illinois. This is a group of Negroes, children and adults, who seek repatriation to the Republic of Ghana. At the request of the [redacted] family, I visited them in Robbins, Illinois. I too thought I was the butt of a joke. After my visit, I am convinced that the family is determined to leave this country. A visit to Robbins, Illinois will give you many reasons why. This is an average, decent, hard working American Negro family who honestly feel that their lot would be better in Ghana.

I am requesting an audience with you to discuss this matter. As time is of the essence, an appointment at your earliest convenience would be appreciated.

Respectfully,

[redacted]

[redacted]

Miss.

FROM
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
to
Official indicated below by check mark

| | |
|---|--|
| Attorney General | |
| Deputy Attorney General | |
| First Assistant Deputy Attorney General | |
| Executive Office For U. S. Attorneys | |
| Executive Office For U. S. Marshals | |
| Solicitor General | |
| Executive Assistant to the Attorney General | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Tax | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Civil | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Lands | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Criminal | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security | |
| Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights | |
| Administrative Assistant Attorney General | |
| Budget and Accounts Office | |
| Records Administration Office | |
| Personnel Office | |
| Administrative Services Office | |
| Supplies and Printing Section | |
| Transcription Section | |
| Director, FBI | |
| Assistant to the Director - Room 5640 | |
| Director of Prisons | |
| Director, Office of Alien Property | |
| Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization | |
| Pardon Attorney | |
| Parole Board | |
| Board of Immigration Appeals | |
| Librarian | |

MEMORANDUM

Thanks

Memorandum

TO : Burke Marshall

DATE: 3/14/63

FROM : John Dear

SUBJECT: TRAVEL

DATE ATTORNEY, PLACE, AND PURPOSE

Mississippi

3/14 Frank Schwelb and John Martin photographing records in Claiborne County.

3/14 Nick Flannery investigating in Tate and Marshall Counties

3/14 Owen and Groh preparing for trial in Panola County

3/15 John Martin finishing photographing in Claiborne
Frank Schwelb and Nick Flannery in Greenwood photographing records.

Groh going to Greenwood with representative of the Agriculture Department on food problems in LeFlore County

Owen preparing for trial in Panola County

3/19 Frank Schwelb and John Martin to photograph records in Rankin County (if we are successful in getting a day from Judge Cox).

Owen, Groh and I will start trial of U.S. v. Duke in Clarksdale.

3/22 Records have to be photographed in Amite County.

3/25 Records have to be photographed in Lowndes County.

In all, we will have four to six attorneys in Mississippi all of next week.

Louisiana

Our plan was to have Kauder and Ross leave for a two-week trip to northern Louisiana during which time they were to prepare for trial in Webster and Red River Parishes, handle some motions in Monroe and Ouachita in the Deal cases, and Kauder would spend next weekend in Lake Charles with Barrett in interviewing witnesses in connection with the trade school case. During the trip the lawyers would check the situation in East Carroll and Madison, and see if anything was developing in Tensas and West Carroll.

There is a possibility that we may conclude that Dunbaugh should go to Monroe to handle the Deal motions (that is the Francis Joseph Atlas (b) case), but I will have to talk to him about that.

Alabama

The plan was to have Chess go to Mobile on Monday, the 18th, and work on Conecuh and Butler on Monday and Tuesday. On the same days, Sather and Norman would go to Birmingham and prepare a method of interviewing witnesses. Commencing on Wednesday, Henderson would come to Birmingham; Sather would go to Montgomery and meet Chess and work with him in Lowndes, Montgomery, Wilcox, and Dallas. Norman would stay in Birmingham all week, and Henderson would probably be there for ten days or two weeks, as would Chess and Sather.

This is a maximum of 12 lawyers in the field sometime next week -- a minimum of 10.

P.S. I cancelled Birmingham also
cancelled Terry's trip to
Chattanooga

Burke Marshall

3/14/68

John Dear

TRAVEL

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|------|--|
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3

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Miss.

YALE UNIVERSITY
LAW SCHOOL
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

OFFICE OF THE
ASSOCIATE DEAN

March 14, 1963

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

Thank you for your letter of March 11, 1962, about [REDACTED]. He was here recently, and I had several members of the Committee on Admissions interview him. He made a good impression as a person. His application is not yet complete so we are not able to make a decision about him now. Your letter will help us.

Best regards,

Jack
Jack B. Tate
Associate Dean

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

March 15, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JACK ROSENTHAL

Enclosed, for your information, is a copy
of a release which is to be distributed by
this Department today.



Harold R. Levy
Assistant to the Secretary

Enclosure

Burke FYI

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of the Secretary
Washington 25, D.C.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, March 15, 1963

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has informed the Secretary of the Air Force that it will build on-base elementary schools at two more military bases, according to U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel.

The installations are Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, and England Air Force Base, Louisiana. This brings to eight the number of bases where the Department will provide educational facilities for elementary school children in the fall of 1963. The other six are: Fort Jackson and Myrtle Beach Air Force Base, in South Carolina; Fort Stewart and Robins Air Force Base, in Georgia, and Fort McClellan and Fort Rucker, in Alabama.

Today's action was taken, Mr. Keppel said, under the "impacted area" public school assistance program (P.L. 874, Sec. 6, and P.L. 815, Sec. 10), which requires that the Commissioner of Education arrange for the education of on-base children if the education provided those children by a local school district is not "suitable." Last year it was ruled that children who are required to attend segregated schools in local school districts do not receive a suitable education.

The two school districts affected were advised in late January of the Department's intention to build on-base schools if the districts themselves would not provide a suitable education.

As previously stated by the Department with reference to the other six bases the schools will be federally-operated through the Department of Defense.

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QUESTION: Mr. President, on your trip to Europe, there have been a lot of rumors about other cities than Rome and Bonn and Berlin wanting you to visit them. I wonder if there is anything you can tell us now about what other cities you might visit, possibly London or even Paris, and also if you could tell us when you might be going?

THE PRESIDENT: No, we have no plans to visit London or Paris. We will be going. I would think, the last half of June, Rome and Bonn, and Berlin. That is our present schedule.

QUESTION: Mr. President, we are told that the principal reason that you have asked Congress to increase the size of the Peace Corps to 13,000 is because of the new emphasis on Latin America. But isn't there some danger that these countries will be disappointed if that goal isn't reached?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. We are going to attempt to make a major effort in Latin America in the Peace Corps. I would hope that this month, when we must really get our applications for the summer, when most of the students will be available, I would hope they would put their applications in in April.

We need nurses, teachers, those who are knowledgeable in the mechanical arts, liberal art school graduates. I would hope that we would get a good, strong, volunteer group in April. We will concentrate on Latin America, and I think based on our experience already with them, it will be most useful.

QUESTION: Mr. President, tomorrow they start hearings in the Senate on the new Foreign Service Academy. Why is this necessary? Why wouldn't it be better to have returning officers go to the schools in Pennsylvania, Harvard, or Chicago, and see something of the country to which they are returning, while they are doing their studies?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think you might say "Why don't we eliminate the National War College?" I think that the problems which they face are very specialized, particularly those Ambassadors or Ministers or Foreign Service Officers who go to Latin America, Africa, and Asia, the Middle East, where you have a good many paramilitary, economic, social, political problems, all the rest. I think that we need the — the Foreign Service Institute has indicated a response to that need, but we need a much stronger service in the same way that we need the National War College. That doesn't mean that some students may not continue to go to the places you named, but I think we need one here in Washington

which is directly tied to the work of the State Department, particularly the work in the areas which I have described, where an Ambassador -- I just looked. I saw Ambassador Gullion this morning from the Congo.

When you think of the decisions, for example, which our Ambassador in Guatemala must now make, our Ambassador in South Korea must have made over the last three weeks, and we depend heavily, of course, upon the judgment of the people there, the judgment that our Ambassador in Laos has had to make over the last year, the judgment of our Ambassadors in Pakistan and India, these are the most important, significant -- the judgment of our Ambassador in Yemen and Saudi Arabia, I think we need this school, because I think these men deal with questions which are so intimately related to the work of the Department, itself, that I think that the Institute ought to be here, close to the Department and working with it.

I follows

QUESTION: Mr. President, sir, do you plan to take any action to head off the threatened railroad strike?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we will, and this afternoon we are going to announce the appointment of a Board.

QUESTION: Mr. President, what is your evaluation of Khrushchev's present status, and the nature of the political struggle that is apparently now going on in the Kremlin? And is the uncertainty in the Kremlin affecting U.S. policy decisions right now, for instance, over Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT: No, but I would think it is possible that Khrushchev is subjected to the same -- I don't think we know precisely, but I would suppose he has his good months and bad months like we all do.

QUESTION: By when do you think we will be first in space, and in view of Russia's current lunar probe, do you think we will beat Russia with a man to the moon?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. We started well behind. Quite obviously they had a tremendous advantage in big boosters and we are still behind, because obviously we haven't gotten our new boosters yet, which we won't get until 1964, '65 and '66. We will have to wait and see but I can assure you it is an uphill race at best, because we started behind, and I am sure the Russians are making a major effort. Today's indication of what they are doing makes me feel that their program is a major one, and it is not spongy, and I think that we would have to make the same ourselves.

So I would say we are behind now, and we will continue to be behind, but if we make a major effort we have a chance, I believe, to be ahead at the end of this decade, and that is where I think we ought to be.

QUESTION: Mr. President, will we be able to maintain our special relations with the United Kingdom if Mr. Harold Wilson and the Labor Party win the next election?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know, any reason why our relationship should change with Great Britain. It has existed with Labor governments and Conservative governments. I think it is a relationship based on history and common interest. And we also have strong relations with other countries of Western Europe, and we have special relations in Latin America. I think Mr. Wilson said, and I think

WASHINGTON SEMINAR PROGRAM

Meetings to be in the Hunt Room of The Hotel Continental unless designated

TUESDAY, APRIL 23

- 8:30 to 9:00 Registration—Parlor of The Hotel Continental.
Dr. W. THOMAS SMITH, Associate Director, Material Development
- 9:00 to 9:25 Briefing Period
Dr. GERALD O. MCCORMACK, Director, Department of Material Education
Dr. HANLEY H. ZIEGLER, Associate Director, In-Service Training and Material Courses of Study
- 9:30 to 10:30 "Policy Formulation in Washington, D.C."
Dr. ELMER S. GAURRITT, Dean of the School of International Service, The American University
- 10:30 to 11:45 "The Main Issues Before Congress"
The Honorable JOHN TOWER, United States Senator (Texas)
The Honorable CLAUDE A. BURNETT, United States Senator (Rhode Island)
- 11:45 Recess: Seminar will reconvene in groups A and B with about 30 in each
- 12:30 to 1:00 Luncheon in the Supreme Court Building Cafeteria for Group A
Visit to the Supreme Court Session by Group B
- 1:00 to 1:30 Visit to the Supreme Court Session by Group A
Luncheon in the Supreme Court Building Cafeteria for Group B
- 1:30 to 2:15 Visit to your Congressmen or to the Congressional Library
"The Role of The Supreme Court in Policy Formulation"
Justice WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
Place: Supreme Court Building, Room 114
- 2:30 Recess
- 4:00 to 5:00 Briefings (Seminar will divide into three groups):
Civil Rights. Place: Department of Justice, Room 1630
Speaker: Mr. BUNNIE MANSFIELD, Assistant Attorney General
Juvenile Delinquency. Place: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, North Building, Room 452B-A
Speaker: Mr. GERALD W. WRIGHT, Deputy Director, Division of Juvenile Delinquency Services
Personography. Place: The Methodist Building, Third Floor
Speaker: Mr. H. B. MERRISON, Chief Postal Inspector
- 5:00 to 6:00 Recess
- 6:30 Dinner at the Dodge Hotel
"Cuba and Latin America"
Mr. I. F. STONE, Editor of the I. F. Stone Newsletter, Washington, D. C.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24

The Hunt Room—The Hotel Continental

- 8:00 Breakfast
- 8:30 to 9:30 "Medicine and Health"
Mr. PHILIP DODMAN, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- 9:30 Recess
- 10:00 to 11:00 "Tax Reform: Is it Needed and Where?"
The Honorable PAUL H. DOUGLAS, United States Senator, Illinois
- 11:00 to 12:00 "Federal Aid to Education"
The Honorable JOHN BAKER, Congressman, Indiana
- 12:00 Luncheon at the Hotel Continental
Followed by visit to Congress and Congressmen
- 2:15 to 3:15 "The Role of the Minority Party in a Democracy"
The Honorable LAW JORDAN, Senator, Idaho
- 3:30 Visit to the Russian Embassy
"Refuting East-West Tension"
Mr. V. LOMONOSOV, Second Secretary of the Embassy
- 5:00 Recess
Buses will leave promptly at 5:30 for the Campus of Wesley Theological Seminary
- 6:00 to 6:30 Tour of the grounds and buildings of Wesley Theological Seminary
- 6:30 Banquet—The Faculty Dining Room of Mary Graydon Hall, The American University, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue
President HUNTER R. ANDERSON, Master of Ceremonies
Welcome from Dr. WILLIAM E. SMITH, Vice-President, who will explain the background and program of Wesley Theological Seminary
Statement by President HUNTER R. ANDERSON on the role of The American University and its School of International Service
Evening Address—"Crisis vs. Purpose in World Affairs"
Dr. CHARLES O. LEACH, Jr., Professor of International Relations, Director of Program in International Relations and Organization
- THURSDAY, APRIL 25
- 7:45 to 8:30 Breakfast—The Hunt Room, Hotel Continental
- 8:30 to 9:00 Buses to the State Department. Sessions in the East Auditorium of the Department of State Building
- 9:15 to 10:00 "The Ciliary Role in Determining Foreign Policy"
Mr. HARRY SEAVAR, Chief of the Division of Organizational Liaison of The Office of Public Services, The Department of State
- 10:00 to 10:45 "The European Common Market, DeGaulle, England and Germany"
Mr. WALTER P. COLLIER, International Economist, Bureau of European Affairs

April 25, 1963

Dear Burke:

With regard to your inquiry sometime ago about the possibility of our employing Mr. [REDACTED] about whom [REDACTED] had written to you, we have considered the matter thoroughly, and I am afraid that there simply are no positions in the Office of Security for which Mr. [REDACTED] is qualified.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

William H. Orrick, Jr.

Honorable Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice

LAW OFFICES

MOBILE, ALABAMA
TELEPHONE PA 2-2242

April 22, 1963

For the Attorney General and his assistant, Burke Marshall . . .

A copy of the attached material respecting the care and feeding of snakes from Alabama's last living (at least when this was dictated) loyal National Democrat, with best wishes for their survival.

Sincerely,

Memorandum

TO : Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

DATE: April 19, 1963

FROM : Henry Putzel, Jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section
Civil Rights Division

HP:bab

SUBJECT: Pending Matters in
Southern Districts.

72-19-0
72-19M-0
72-20-0

This refers to your memorandum of today, requesting information about cases and other matters in any district of Alabama and Georgia, the Northern District of Florida, the Eastern District of South Carolina, and Northern or Southern Districts of Mississippi.

The Voting & Elections Section has no cases pending in any of those districts, and no matters pending in any of those districts except those in Georgia which are mentioned below.

1. In the Middle District of Georgia a full FBI investigation of vote frauds in connection with the September 12, 1962, primary election in Quitman County is still in progress. The information thus far developed shows a substantial number of fraudulent votes. Details are still wanting as to the identities of those responsible for the irregularities or precisely how they were accomplished. It is likely that in July or August testimony will be heard by the grand jury.

2. We are continuing the program to eliminate racial distinctions in voting throughout Georgia. Letters are in preparation to the United States Attorneys asking them to make personal contact with the officials who have not as yet answered your letter to them of a few months ago.

3. Consideration is still being given to what, if anything, can be done about charges that the incumbent group in Miller County (N.D. Ga.) is preventing the reform group from effectively voting for local candidates. Congressman Pilcher was to have reported to you on the situation. Thus far, no federal vote fraud charges have been made.

1 May 1963

Mr. Harris Wofford
Peace Corps
Post Office Box #1014
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Dear Harris:

It is nice to hear from you.

The Attorney General and I took a trip south last week to see Governor Wallace of Alabama, who has announced he will defy any federal court order in a school case. As it happened, Martin King was spending the week in the Birmingham jail for defying a local court order. We sorely needed further training in the tenets of civil disobedience to handle that confluence of events.

Best to your family. Hope to see you soon.

Regards,

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE
UNITED STATES COURTS
SUPREME COURT BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

WARREN OLNEY III
DIRECTOR

WILL SHAFROTH
DEPUTY DIRECTOR

April 26, 1963

Honorable Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I am pleased to send you herewith a copy of the annual report of the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts for the fiscal year 1962, which is bound under one cover with the reports of the annual and special meetings of the Judicial Conference of the United States held in 1962.

Sincerely yours,

Warren Olney III
Warren Olney III,
Director.

Enclosure

PEACE CORPS

ADDIS ABABA - ETHIOPIA

P. O. BOX 1014

April 23, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Burke:

Just as the President's timely and eloquent sweeping disavowal of civil disobedience made me think of you, so I think of you again reading the Pope's equally eloquent and sweeping, to say the least, avowal. I enclose my favorite encyclical in case you wish to use it as a "But see" reference in a footnote.

The encyclical is a remarkable document, isn't it, practically putting me out of business -- or in business -- on the world government front too?

All goes well here. Love to Vi.

As ever,

Harris

Harris Wofford

enc.

HM/ec

*I see David Lawrence quotes this part of
The Encyclical, Mr. !*

*Dear Harris:
It is nice to hear
from you.
The Attorney General
and I took a trip with
a lot of people to see
Gordon Willson of
Alabama, who has
been named for will day
my friend with a
school case. That
beginning is starting
King was going
the week in the
just in deficit
a hard cut
rule. So ready
needed further
training in the
heart of our
the future to
humble WJ and
of course that to
you finally.
Harris and the
army.
Pete*

POPE JOHN'S ENCYCLICAL

PACEM IN TERRIS

PART II

Relations Between Individuals And
The Public Authorities

... For to serve God is to rule. (33)

Since the right to command is required by the moral order and has its source in God, it follows that, if civil authorities legislate for or allow anything that is contrary to that order and therefore contrary to the will of God, neither the laws made nor the authorizations granted can be binding on the consciences of the citizens, since God has more right to be obeyed than men. (34) Otherwise, authority breaks down completely and results in shameful abuse. As St. Thomas Aquinas teaches: Human law has the true nature of law only in so far as it corresponds to right reason, and therefore is derived from the eternal law. Insofar as it falls short of right reason, a law is said to be a wicked law. And so, lacking the true nature of law, it is rather a kind of violence. (35)

33. Cf. Ibid, p. 273, and encyclical "Immortale Dei," op. cit., p. 130.

34. Acts of the Apostles, v, 29.

35. St. Thomas Aquinas, op. cit., quest., 93, para. 3; Cf. Pius XII's 1944 radio message, op. cit., pp. 5-23.



ETHIOPIA NEWS

Vol. I, No. 3

April 1, 1963



NEW USE FOR PC VEHICLES: PCV Toby Page demonstrates "mechanized" farming at the Volunteer-inspired Lekempt Student Hostel and Model Farm.

Second Meeting of PCV Chairmen Held in Harar

PCV Self-Administration Discussed

In an effort to coordinate the work of the Peace Corps Volunteers scattered throughout the Empire, chairmen from each Peace Corps location, and in the case of Eritrea, area representatives, met on March ninth and tenth in Harar. Also participating in the meeting were Volunteer coordinators for public health projects, community development, and the training manual.

In a series of three meetings the participants tackled a long agenda dealing with everything from summer plans to health education. High on the list of items discussed was PCV self-administration. The need for better field coordination of Volunteer efforts was discussed at length, with the resulting consensus that there is a need for Volunteer coordinators or field assistants at the local level. These Volunteer field assistants would devote their full time toward the support of the work of the PCV's in a given area, including handling problems of supplies and other logistics. Although not directly involved in teaching, they might participate in school activities as well as in community projects. Through their servi-

(Continued on page 3)

Lekempt PCV's Start Student Farm-Hostel

Near a thirteen acre strip of farmland just outside of the town of Lekempt a small crowd gathers daily for a special late afternoon show. It's a free show put on by American PCV's and their students from Haile Selassie I School. At 4:30 p.m. the Landrover drives into the field, is hitched to a plow, and the "show" begins. The seven Volunteers in Lekempt spend their afternoons demonstrating this new kind of "mechanized" farming at the new PCV-sponsored Student Hostel and Model Farm.

The "farm," as it is lovingly called, is the brain-child of several of the PCV's teaching in Lekempt in their attempt to find adequate means of feeding and housing students lacking financial support. The purpose of the farm is to satisfy these needs by giving the students an opportunity to work for themselves and to gain valuable experience in the process.

After discussing plans for the farm with PCV's, the Governor of Wallaga Province His Excellency Dejazmatch Fikre Sellassie Hapte Mariam granted the farm-under the direction of the provincial education officer - the free use for ten years of thirteen acres of land only two kilometers from the school. If the project is successful, the land can be bought at low cost after the ten year period.

Construction to Begin

Preparations are now being made for construction - to begin during the Easter vacation - of the dormitories and buildings necessary to feed and house 25 to 50 students. Through the cooperation of Alemaya Agricultural College and the Swedish Building College, plans have been drawn up for three to four buildings containing student rooms, combination library-study facilities, dining room and kitchen facilities, rooms for four teachers (two PCV and two Ethiopian teachers), and storage facilities. Construction will be predominantly of pressed earth blocks with voluntary labor furnished by students, PCV's, and other interested people. Technical assistance and supervision will be furnished by students and staff of the Swedish Building College, as well as by the Peace Corps' Associate Representative, David Chaney. Most of the building activity will take place during the summer months.

(Continued on page 4)

Schmick Transferred to Ministry Stores

PCV's to Assist in Textbook Distribution

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Some Facts about Peace Corps Volunteers in Ethiopia

Of the 278 Peace Corps volunteers in Ethiopia

— there are the following educational degrees:

BA, AB and BS - 270

BM - 2, BAE - 1, AA - 2, ME - 1, MBA - 1

MA and MS - 41

MD - 2, MAT - 2

LLB - 4

MD - 2

— there are over 75 who trained to be teachers, and over 50 with experience teaching in American schools (a total of 161 years of teaching experience)

— they come from 44 states of the U.S.A., including Hawaii and Alaska.

— there are 91 women and 197 men

— they are in the following age brackets:

20 - 24 - 174

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278

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PEACE CORPS ETHIOPIA NEWS

P. O. BOX 1096

ADDIS ABABA

Ethiopia

S. A. Andretta, Administrative
Assistant Attorney General

May 3, 1963

Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney
General, Civil Rights Division

Preliminary Budget Estimates for Fiscal Year 1965
through 1968

This Division does not expect any major program changes in fiscal 1965 or in the years immediately following. It will be impossible, however, for this Division to meet its obligations and responsibilities with less funds than were requested for fiscal 1964.

No substantial change in the Division's budgetary requirements is anticipated for the near future if the proposed Voting Rights Act of 1963 (H.R. 5455, S. 1283) is enacted.

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES AND BROADCASTING INC. 400 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17 NY MU 6-0300

EDITORIAL INFORMATION SERVICE

May 2, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Civil Rights Division
Justice Department
Washington, D.C.

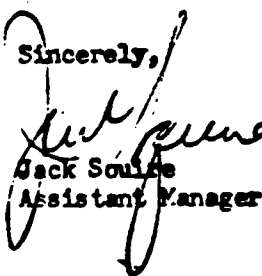
Dear Mr. Marshall:

The up-coming issue of Look will feature several articles that I'm sure will be of special interest to you.

Beginning on page 38, Look editor John Poppy reports on the efforts of Negroes to register in the South. I've marked a reference to you on page 38.

A report on possible jury tampering in the trial of James Hoffa (page 79) and a profile of Attorney General Robert Kennedy (page 91) are other articles for your attention.

Sincerely,


Jack Soule
Assistant Manager

JS:jb
Enc.

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES AND BROADCASTING, INC. 625 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 5 CALIF.

May 2, 1963

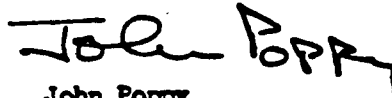
Mr. Burke Marshall
Civil Rights Division
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I hope you can take a few minutes to read this article about voter-registration work in one section of the country. It isn't about a problem so much as it is about the people fighting the problem, and I hope that in some way it will help LOOK's readers feel closer to those people and understand more fully how and why they are working in the South. The article appears in the issue that goes on sale on Tuesday, May 7.

I would very much appreciate any comments you care to offer.

Sincerely,



John Poppy
Senior Editor

JP:mk
Enc.

Reinde - FVI
True

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S ITINERARY

May 16, 1963 In Detroit, Mich.

**Leave Detroit May 17, 1963, American Flight 924, arrive
New York City at 4:18 p.m.**

**May 18, 1963 Leave New York, 6:00 p.m. American
flight 969, arrive Chicago, Illinois, 7:12 p.m.**

**May 19, 1963 Leave Chicago, Eastern Flight 123 at
4:20 p.m. arrive Atlanta, Ga. 6:05 p.m.**

**All times are presumably local. Insofar as the
Bureau knows he is not scheduled to return to Birmingham.**

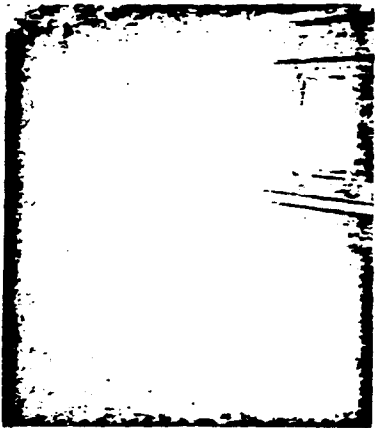
**Received from John Murphy
5:35 p.m.
5/16/63**



ETHIOPIA NEWS

Vol. 1, No. 3

April 1, 1963



NEW USE FOR PC VEHICLES: PCV Toby Page demonstrates "mechanized" farming at the Volunteer-inspired Lekempt Student Hostel and Model Farm.

Second Meeting of PCV Chairmen Held in Harar

PCV Self-Administration Discussed

In an effort to coordinate the work of the Peace Corps Volunteers scattered throughout the Empire, chairmen from each Peace Corps location, and in the case of Eritrea, area representatives, met on March ninth and tenth in Harar. Also participating in the meeting were Volunteer coordinators for public health projects, community development, and the training manual.

In a series of three meetings the participants tackled a long agenda dealing with everything from summer plans to health education. High on the list of items discussed was PCV self-administration. The need for better field coordination of Volunteer efforts was discussed at length, with the resulting consensus that there is a need for Volunteer coordinators or field assistants at the local level. These Volunteer field assistants would devote their full time toward the support of the work of the PCV's in a given area, including handling problems of supplies and other logistics. Although not directly involved in teaching, they might participate in school activities as well as in community projects. Through their servi-

(Continued on page 3)

Lekempt PCV's Start Student Farm-Hostel

Near a thirteen acre strip of farmland just outside of the town of Lekempt a small crowd gathers daily for a special late afternoon show. It's a free show put on by American PCV's and their students from Haile Selassie I School. At 4:30 p.m. the Landrover drives into the field, is hitched to a plow, and the "show" begins. The seven Volunteers in Lekempt spend their afternoons demonstrating this new kind of "mechanized" farming at the new PCV-sponsored Student Hostel and Model Farm.

The "farm," as it is lovingly called, is the brain-child of several of the PCV's teaching in Lekempt in their attempt to find adequate means of feeding and housing students lacking financial support. The purpose of the farm is to satisfy these needs by giving the students an opportunity to work for themselves and to gain valuable experience in the process.

After discussing plans for the farm with PCV's, the Governor of Wallaga Province His Excellency Dejazmatch Fikre Sellassie Hapte Mariam granted the farm-under the direction of the provincial education officer - the free use for ten years of thirteen acres of land only two kilometers from the school. If the project is successful, the land can be bought at low cost after the ten year period.

Construction to Begin

Preparations are now being made for construction - to begin during the Easter vacation - of the dormitories and buildings necessary to feed and house 25 to 50 students. Through the cooperation of Alemaya Agricultural College and the Swedish Building College, plans have been drawn up for three to four buildings containing student rooms, combination library-study facilities, dining room and kitchen facilities, rooms for four teachers (two PCV and two Ethiopian teachers), and storage facilities. Construction will be predominantly of pressed earth blocks with voluntary labor furnished by students, PCV's, and other interested people. Technical assistance and supervision will be furnished by students and staff of the Swedish Building College, as well as by the Peace Corps' Associate Representative, David Chaney. Most of the building activity will take place during the summer months.

(Continued on page 4)

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PEACE CORPS ETHIOPIA NEWS

P. O. BOX 1096
 ADDIS ABABA
 Ethiopia



AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

INCORPORATED

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

LOOSE 3-2572

HAROLD SWAN
Chairman

ROBERT J. CANNON
Honorary Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

May 10, 1963

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

At your press conference the other day you spoke of your preparedness to talk to the nation on civil rights. We urge you to put your message before the American people soon, so that the guideline of our spiritual heritage can strengthen people in the knowledge of what is right.

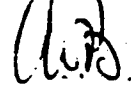
As a society we have traditionally acknowledged that the principles upon which we have sought to build democracy spring directly from our religious convictions, and that when democratic patterns break down or are not realized our ethic is undermined and our faith impaired. This, it seems to us, needs to be the burden of your message.

No one will deny the importance of legal measures in securing civil rights, or of appeals for law and order in times of crisis. However, law and order are the means to a moral end — the establishment of justice — and may not properly be perverted to the intolerable postponement of justice. We agree with your statement that "we move situation by situation," and we hope that the presence of the federal government will be felt in all struggles to establish the rights of individuals in our society, and especially wherever the moral victory is in the balance.

The leadership of the President is needed to lift us above partisan politics and unite us on the issue of the dignity and equality of all citizens. We find the enclosed letter an eloquent statement of the moral issue. It was written by Martin Luther King while in the Birmingham jail and was addressed to religious leaders in that city who had called his activities unwise and untimely. It seems to us to be replete with reasonableness and practical good sense but at the same time to be informed with moral power and dignity.

The urgency in the hearts of Negro citizens who have waited too long for their rights to become real is being dramatically expressed in Birmingham today. Last fall it was Oxford. More recently it was Greenwood. Tomorrow it may be any community in America. Your voice is needed now.

Yours sincerely,


Colin W. Bell
Executive Secretary

CWB:bs
Enclosure

NOT FOR PUBLIC OR
PRESS QUOTATION

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Birmingham City Jail
April 16, 1963

Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter
Bishop Joseph A. Durick
Rabbi Milton L. Grafman
Bishop Paul Hardin
Bishop Nolan B. Harmon
The Rev. George M. Murray
The Rev. Edward V. Ramage
The Rev. Earl Stallings

My dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that cross my desk my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine goodwill and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the south -- one being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a non-violent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented and when the hour came we lived up to our promises. So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the eighth century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town; and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Graeco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere in this country.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the

conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any non-violent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) Collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive, (2) Negotiation, (3) Self-purification and (4) Direct Action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and Churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants -- such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Rev. Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. Like so many experiences of the past we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on non-violence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?" We decided to set our direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead, and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Connor was in the run-off we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our non-violent witness the day after the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has

consistently refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the non-violent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive non-violent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having non-violent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So the purpose of direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We, therefore, concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved southland been bogged down in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be produced about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My Friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and non-violent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of

inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored." When your first name becomes "nigger" your middle name becomes "boy" (However old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are haggard by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"; -- then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, Sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break law. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are just laws and there are unjust laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness. So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the legislature of Alabama which

set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of convenient methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its face but unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on a charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade, but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the first amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming "nigger, nigger, nigger") and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.

Of course there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that if I had lived in Germany during that time I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negroes' great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council or the Klu Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of goodwill is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they

become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in non-violent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to his will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry? It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.

We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy, and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and, on the other hand, of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a

degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness, and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothingism," of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss us as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who are working through the channels of nonviolent direct action and refuse to support our non-violent efforts, millions of Negroes out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa, and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channelized through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being categorized.

But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice -- "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ -- "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist -- "Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist -- "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make mockery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist -- "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist -- "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal." So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice -- or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime, the crime of

extremism. Two were extremist for immorality, and thusly fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed and still forever have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith and James Dabbs have marched down nameless streets of the South. They have sat in with us at lunch counters and have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms, and rode in with us on Freedom Rides. They have learned to sing the haunting soul songs of the freedom movement. They have languished in filthy roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say this as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cords of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and Rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some few have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious, and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause, and with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say follow this decree because integration is morally right and

the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sidelines and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues which the Gospel has nothing to do with," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between bodies and soul, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the exit of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail light behind other community agencies rather than a headlight leading me to higher levels of justice.

I have travelled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "Who worships here? Who is their God? Where were the voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the church; I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson and the great grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformist.

There was a time when the Church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the Church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven" and had to obey God rather than men. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

Things are different now. The contemporary Church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young

people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again, I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true ecclesia and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches, and lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the Church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson scratched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence we were here. For more than two centuries our fore-parents labored here without wages; they made cotton king; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation -- and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, non-violent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young Negro boys; if you will observe them, as they did on two occasions refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly "non-violent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly nonviolent, as Chief Prichett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant racial injustice. T. S. Elliot has said that there is

no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of the elders courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down in reality they were standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, and thusly, carrying our whole nation back to great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the foundation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written a letter this long (or should I say a book?). I'm afraid that it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an over-statement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood

Martin Luther King, Jr.

MLK:wm

Misc.

5-13-63

JD:MWH:sbb
144-50-155 (10,670)
144-50-170 (11,934)
144-50-177 (13,090)
typed 5-13-63

[REDACTED]
Albany, New York

Dear [REDACTED]

This refers to your letter of April 30th, 1963, to Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of Civil Rights Division of this Department. I note that your letter refers to several incidents involving deprivations of civil rights in the City of Albany, New York.

Mr. Marshall is presently out of the city but your letter, which was recently received, will be directed to his attention upon his return. However, I should like to state that most of the matters referred to in your letter are receiving this Department's careful attention. If you care to furnish us with sufficient information to enable us to identify the individual referred to in your letter as an employee "of a mutual fund" we will be glad to look into that matter, and take such action as the evidence warrants.

Sincerely,

JOHN DOAR
First Assistant
Civil Rights Division

cc: Records
Mr. Hubbard ✓
Chron.

[REDACTED]
Albany, New York

April 30, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Deputy Attorney General for
Civil Rights
Justice Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

I am apprising you of the following at the suggestion of a staff member of the New York State Commission on Human Rights-- that body feeling that it does not have jurisdiction in the matter.

A year ago, a Negro from Stamford, Connecticut, employed by the Post Office there and having an unblemished record, reported that he had been taken to one of our local police stations on a tramped-up charge and subsequently been beaten up. Based upon the reputation of the policemen at this particular station and upon our general knowledge of other similar incidents which have occurred here in Albany (you might discuss this with Pete Libassi at the Commission on Civil Rights in Washington), I am inclined to believe this man's assertion. Subsequently, there was a bit of a hullabaloo here in Albany and a public hearing, at which the police denied the man's story and the result of which was a finding exonerating the police.

Thereafter, the grand jury found a perjury indictment against the newspaper reporter who had publicized the man's story. They have denied the reporter's attorney the opportunity of seeing the grand jury's minutes. I am reliably told that the questioning of the reporter was of a harassing nature and, based upon what I hear, the alleged perjurious statement is irrelevant, immaterial, and inconsequential. Furthermore, it appears to be based upon a simple misstatement as to the time a certain matter occurred and was the result of poor questioning or entrapment on the part of the local district attorney.

For some time now, the local political machine has been on the outs with the two newspapers--they withdrew \$200,000. worth of public advertising from them a year ago in revenge for the failure of the newspapers to support the machine candidates the previous fall. Newspaper personnel have been harassed and called before the grand jury for a number of reasons. Subpoenas are served at 10 o'clock for appearance at 10 o'clock, when the administration people have had long-in-advance notice of the fact that the grand jury would be meeting on the subject.

Mr. Burke Marshall
Page 2
April 30, 1963

About two weeks ago, a prominent citizen was walking along one of our back streets in the morning, when he saw a Negro being held by two policemen. At this point, a police car drove up and a third policeman jumped out of the car, ran over, and began pommeling the Negro about the face. The prominent citizen, who was on the opposite side of the street, stopped to watch. After the policeman had pushed the Negro into the car, he saw our prominent citizen and asked him what he was doing, apparently meaning for him to move on. The citizen asked why he was manhandling that person; whereupon the policeman said, "You're as bad as he is," and took the prominent citizen to the police station with the Negro who, by the way, has an unsavory record.

At the station, the prominent citizen was booked, mugged and manacled. He was taken to Police Court. There he was allowed to call an attorney who subsequently appeared and told our man that he had a choice of suing the City for false arrest or signing a release. The prominent citizen was strongly urged to sign the release, thus avoiding notoriety.

The prominent citizen thereupon told the story to the members of his service club that day; and it somehow or other leaked to the newspapers, wherein, because of the prominence of the particular citizen and the obstinate position taken by the administration in defense of the police, the matter was headlined for about a week. The citizen having been active in church work, the protestant ministers and the protestant minority raised a flurry of objections, and a considerable number of letters appeared in the local newspapers demanding an investigation of the whole matter and of police brutality in general. Our police here are paid about \$1,000. less per year than police in any other New York State city, with the result that one wonders how they manage to survive financially.

Subsequently, the local police chief stated, with reference to Prominent Citizen's incarceration, "No one gets arrested for nothing." The Mayor received the police report: the arresting officer having absented himself from the City for one week on vacation immediately after the event, and His Honor concluded that someone had committed perjury; and he further concluded that there was a concerted effort (obviously the newspapers) directed to discrediting the police force and destroying its effectiveness.

The grand jury is now meeting on the matter and the official version is that the third policeman who drove up in the car and started pommeling the man never existed and is a figment of the imagination of the prominent citizen. The official version holds that two policemen were attempting to arrest the Negro, who admittedly is not a gentleman, and were therefore required to use force. The prominent citizen is alleged to have interfered with their proper carrying out of these police duties. The prominent citizen, by the way, is a relatively meek man,

Mr. Burke Marshall

Page 3

April 30, 1963

suffering from a heart attack, who is not known for physical stamina or courage--albeit he apparently has great moral courage.

When needled about this, one of the district attorneys has been quoted as saying, or at least assenting to someone else's assertion, that the prominent citizen will be indicted for perjury in due course. This assistant district attorney subsequently stated that it is a shame that the matter was handled this way. According to him, it would have been so easy to have had the cop apologize, and the matter would have blown over. He stated, however, that he was not running the show.

The grand jury in Albany is chosen from what one might term the "power elite." That is to say, grand juries here are composed pretty much of the same people over and over again: people who are good, bad and indifferent as to public reputation but who, due to property interests, job holding, or other rewards past and future, are interested in maintaining the current power structure at all costs. The majority of the tax-paying middle class is discriminated against and kept from the juries. By and large, this is no crime in our country; but, fortunately for us who are in this category, there is also violent discrimination against the Negro, who never serves on the grand jury. About 10 per cent of the population of the City of Albany is Negro. The clerk for the grand jury recently stated that in her memory no Negro had ever served on the grand jury, although she subsequently changed this statement to one indicating that she didn't know one way or the other.

With this type of grand jury system and with the district attorney dedicated to the maintenance of the present power structure, it is no small surprise that the police called to appear before the grand jury are questioned for five or ten minutes, whereas the other people are questioned for hours at a time. It is also no small surprise that the gist of the questioning turns upon one's membership in the NAACP, whether a particular citizen has been goaded into making his critical statements by some local member of the Fourth Estate, or whether some small group voicing opposition to the administration is secretly financed by the local newspaper publisher.

The Albany mind is xenophobic. Everything critical of the machine must have been started by outside troublemakers. I am one, and subtle rumors of my alleged membership in subversive organizations which go further than the American Civil Liberties Union have been bruited about. One manifestation of xenophobia was the indictment a few years ago of the author, [redacted] and the publishers of one of his books. The mind of Albany is psychologically not far different from what you find in the South and, unfortunately, nobody has turned attention to this mind in the North.

This is no isolated incident blown up out of all proportion. I am reliably informed by a local security dealer that one of the

Mr. Burke Marshall
Page 4
April 30, 1963

officers of a mutual fund was drinking in an Albany bar a year or so ago, when police entered the bar and began to beat up a Negro. This mutual fund officer asked them what they were doing, whereupon he was taken to the station and beaten up himself. He left town the next day and discussed the matter with his superiors. They told him to keep his mouth shut because, at that time, mutual funds were worried about their public image and about certain pending legislation. I wonder how many other stories there are like this. I'm sure an investigation of whether or not the police and the different juries of Albany are depriving us of our civil rights would disclose many crimes against the dignity of people in and outside of Albany.

I realize that you are extremely busy and have innumerable and more pressing problems, but I would ask you to turn whatever attention you can to the City of Albany, which is one of the worst vestiges of the kind of government that is supposed to have disappeared in this country long ago.

I see [redacted] quite often, and I understand he had lunch with you in Washington last summer. I believe that [redacted] is down there with the Securities Exchange Commission and, since he lived in Albany for some time (although it was before people became aware of many of the things going on here), he could probably enlighten you on some lurid details of this city.

With best wishes,
[redacted]

VAL:lmc

cc: Mr. F. Peter Libassi
Civil Rights Commission Staff
Office of the Commission
Washington, D. C.